BISHOP GRANDISSON

STUDENT AND ART LOVER

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BISHOP GRANDISSON.

BISHOP GRANDISSON.—*To face page* 1.

BISHOP GRANDISSON
STUDENT AND ART-LOVER

By

FRANCES ROSE-TROUP, F.R.HIST.SOC.

AUTHOR OF "THE WESTERN REBELLION OF 1549," "LOST CHAPELS OF EXETER," "THE LADY OF THE ISLE," ETC.

WITH 30 *ILLUSTRATIONS*

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BISHOP GRANDISSON

An attempt has been made in the following pages to give some conception of Bishop Grandisson's personality—chiefly as revealed by the books which passed through his hands and by the artistic treasures made at his command. In connection with the latter, the question of the place where they were executed has arisen. Professor E. S. Prior long ago suggested the existence of a School of Carving at Hereford, a point which has attracted the notice of other writers ; by quoting comments made, and by the illustrations here given, which allow an easy comparison of details, it is hoped that evidence may be found to support the theory that a School of Carving existed in the vicinity of Bishop Grandisson's birthplace, of which he had cognizance. Another matter interesting to students of art and archæology is the reconstruction of the paintings on the two tombs in Westminster Abbey, made by Professor E. W. Tristram, who has kindly allowed me to reproduce them as illustrations ; to him and to Professor W. R. Lethaby I am deeply indebted for assistance given. My thanks are especially due to Mr. O. M. Dalton, until recently in charge of the ivory carvings at the British Museum, for allowing me to examine closely those here illustrated and for his illuminating remarks concerning them ; also to Canon J. N. Dalton and Mr. Arthur Gardner for kindly allowing me the use of blocks made for their publications. I greatly appreciate the kindness shown me by Mr. R. Pearse Chope in preparing this little book for the press. For the rest I must content myself by offering my sincere thanks to the many friends who have kindly assisted me. In conclusion I wish to acknowledge the

courtesy of the Devonshire Association in allowing the paper read before them in July, 1928, to be issued in this form.

Since this account of Bishop Grandisson's treasures went to press, Dr. H. H. E. Craster, keeper of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, has informed me that at the foot of folio 8 of MS. Rawlinson G. 170, is an inscription "Memento: Iohis: de Grandissono: Ep: Exoniens :," recently made legible by a reagent. This is obviously in the Bishop's handwriting, though in a more set hand than the marginal notes found elsewhere. This book is a York Psalter corrected according to the Sarum Use, an interesting point because of his request for a Pontifical according to that Use.

I have also examined a mutilated folio found by the Vicar of Ilsington, Rev. J. D. H. Patch, in the binding of a parish register, which has a note in Grandisson's writing ; curiously enough this fragment contains part of the Mass of St. Anne, yet that Saint's name does not so much as occur in the Calendar of the Exeter Cathedral copy of the Ordinale, though it is in the later copy formerly at Ottery St. Mary.

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BISHOP GRANDISSON: STUDENT AND ART-LOVER.

BY FRANCES ROSE-TROUP.

In 1327 John de Grandisson was consecrated bishop at Avignon, and in the following year he was enthroned in the Cathedral at Exeter. It is fitting that at this sex-centenary of a man, so famous both within and outside the diocese which he governed for two-and-forty years, should be commemorated and extolled, as the benefits he bestowed were many and lasting.

Abler pens than mine have paid tribute to him as a learned theologian, as a great bishop and administrator, and as a notable builder,[1] but it is as the man, the student, the lover of beautiful things, that I would present him to you. His family history suggests inherited traits, his environment, education, associates, show how, perhaps why, his character developed on certain lines. "Of a noble Burgundian family," claiming kinship with the Emperor, he received the best education obtainable in his day; he associated with persons of the highest rank in Church and State, and by his acts he won the admiration of his contemporaries and of succeeding generations. Under the glamour of his success we find signs of a lovable and loving personality, a devotional and emotional heart,

[1] Fuller, *Worthies*, I, 450, says he was remarkable "for his high birth, great learning, being a good writer of that age, though Bale saith of him that he was *Orator animosior quam fecundior*," as well as for his high preferment; his vivacity [long life] as he was "sitting bishop" for two-and-forty years; for his "stout stomack" as he resisted the Archbishop, *vi et armis*, and for his costly building. For other accounts see Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, Hingeston-Randolph, *Introduction to Bishop Grandisson's Register*, Walford Green, *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, XIII, 173 f.

as well as a mind that delighted in the beautiful things of this world, and contemplated with joy those of the world to come.

For many generations his father's family dwelt on the shores of Lake Neuchâtel in the County Palatine of Burgundy, near the borders of Savoy, where their castle, known as Château de Grandson, still stands. The origin of its name is involved in obscurity. Its earliest known form is *Grancius*, traced to the Germanic *Grantzo*, becoming in Lombardic *Grancio*, whence the family name *de Grancione* was formed.[2] The first recorded bearer of the name was Rigaldus de Grancione, who was living in 1049.[3] Forty variants of the name occur before 1328 : *Granzon* in 1126, *Grandissonum* in 1149, and *Granson* in 1184, so the English form *Grandisson* has as clear a title as the French *Graunson*.[4] Only in one instance have I found our bishop using his surname in a French form—in a letter of 1328–9 he writes it " Johan de Grauntscon."[5]

The Bishop's pedigree is traced definitely to Yblo, or Ebal, IV,[6] " Sire de Sarrate et de Grandson," who had four sons ; Aymo, the youngest, held what may be considered the family living, the bishopric of Lausanne, in 1216, and died in 1262. On their father's death, in 1228, the family estates were divided between the other three sons ; Gerard became Sire de Sarrate, Peter Sire de Grand-

[2] Professor Ekwall kindly informs me that there is a Lombardic personal name *Grancio*, which Brückner held to stand for *Granzo*, O.H.G. *Grantzo*, which he suggests meant " harm, damage," but Professor Ekwall thinks it may be equated with the Old English personal name *Granta*, found in Grantham and Gransden.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Daniel Galbraith of Baugy sur Clarens for these notes on the family. Adelbert and Lambert dwelt at Grancius in 981. Some place Bencelino de Grancione, 1090, at the head of the pedigree ; at that date Lambert de Grancione was bishop of Lausanne.

[4] The hard sound of z, as ts or ds, occurs frequently in early forms and remains in the present place-name Grandson, though not pronounced ; at a later date French influence softened it into s, sometimes appearing as c. The earliest seal is that of Yblo de Granzon, 1234, while the Bishop's father on his seal has Gravencon. The suggested derivation from Grangio Isonis, the grange of Iso, is alluring, as Count Rudolph of Burgundy brought the famous teacher of St. Gall, Iso, at the end of the ninth century to establish a school at Grandval in the Jura, some fifty miles as the crow flies from the Château de Grandson, but unfortunately this theory is untenable. The Fabric Rolls of Exeter Cathedral give the forms : Graunson, Granson and Grandisson twice, Gransoun and Grandisono once.

[5] *Register* (H.-R. ed.), I, 221.

[6] Said to be a form of Theobald. Presumably he had three predecessors of the name.

CHÂTEAU OF GRANDSON.

SITE OF CASTLE GRANDISSON.

Bishop Grandisson.—*To face page* 2.

son, and Henry Sire de Chauvent, each founding a family bearing these territorial designations.[7]

On the death of his brother Gerard, without surviving issue, Peter de Grandson became Sire de Sarrate; he married Agnes, daughter of Ulrick, Count of Neuchâtel, and died about 1258, leaving six sons and three or more daughters. In 1263 an exchange of the "Peage de Grandson"[8] for certain annual rents was agreed upon between his widow Agnes, and his friend and patron Peter of Savoy, who, out of gratitude for services rendered by the father, undertook also to advance the fortunes of the children, taking three of the sons into his own service soon after their father's death.

The sons who formally assented to their mother's agreement of 1263 were: Otolino, Gerard, Jaquet, Henry, Peter, and William. Henry had, apparently, just attained his majority, Peter and William were still minors. In the absence of Otolino, the eldest, his brothers guaranteed his assent; he may have been then about twenty-three years old, and was probably already in England.[9] Gerard de Grandisson, after acting as chaplain to Peter of Savoy, became bishop of Verdun, and died in 1277.[10] Henry, having held an English living, succeeded his brother as bishop of Verdun, and died in 1286. James, Sire de Belmont, was living in 1282, and on his death his nephew, Peter, became Sire de Belmont; from the latter descended Otes de Graunson, the poet whose verses Chaucer translated, or rather paraphrased, for the Lady Isabella of Castile. To this Otes the Château de Graunson eventually passed, and he was the last of the name to hold it. The

[7] This account of the Grandissons, as well as that of Sir Otho, is drawn chiefly from the late Charles Lethbridge Kingsford's paper in the *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 3rd Series, Vol. III.

[8] Peage = tolls.

[9] Mr. Kingsford inferred that Henry was just of age as he held legal status yet possessed no seal of his own. He fixed Otolino's birth "about 1238," but there are grounds for placing it a year or two later. Other documents in the *Minutes of Evidence* prove him to have been the eldest son. Mons. August Burnand in his pamphlet on Sir Otho, controverts many of Mr. Kingsford's statements and deductions, but the evidence proves Mr. Kingsford's conclusions. The only point calling for comment is that both appear to be wrong in assuming that Sir Otho, at an advanced age, made the journey to the Channel Islands. The Sir Otho mentioned as in the Islands in 1323 would have been the nephew of that name acting as deputy in the absence of Gerard d'Orons.

[10] Among the treasures at Canterbury Cathedral was the cope of Sir Gerard de Grauntsoun. James, *Catalogue of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MSS.*, II, p. 80.

present owner, Baron de Blonay, is descended in the female line from the Grandissons.[11]

Peter's eldest son, Otolino, or Otho, came to England in the household of Peter of Savoy, uncle of Eleanor, wife of Henry III.[12] His name appears in English documents as early as 16th October, 1265, when the King granted him certain houses "in the street of Thames by Queenhithe."[13] On 25th November following, other lands, previously granted to him by the King, were embodied in a new grant;[14] presumably he had already rendered some service to be thus rewarded, so the date of his arrival in England may be placed somewhat earlier, especially as the 1277 grant of the lordship of the Channel Islands was made "on account of his intimacy with the King and of his long and faithful services from an early age, and in acquittance of debts incurred in the King's service."[15] Edward once said of him, "no one about him could do his will better; it could not be better done if he [the King] were to attend to it in person";[16] but something beyond faithful service Otho performed—he saved the King's life, if credence can be given to the tale told to John of Ypres, a contemporary, by two Savoyards. They said that the horoscope of the son of the lord of Grandson had revealed that he would be great, powerful, and victorious, but would only live as long as a brand, then burning on the hearth, was in existence;

[11] Of the daughters, the eldest married . . . Estavayer or Estiniaco; Agnes, probably the second, married . . . Wyppans; a third daughter married Peter de Orons; perhaps there was another daughter, Douceline, as in Lady Margaret's Hours, *see below*, is the obit, 22nd October, of "Douseline de Grandisson, domina de Albo Castello, eodem die obitus domine Sibilla de Grandison," which suggests that she predeceased the Bishop's mother; possibly she was daughter or daughter-in-law of Peter de Grandisson. Albo Castello or Albo Castro was one of the "Tres Castelli" of Edmund Crouchback, the others being Grosment and Skeneforth. "White Castle" lay in the parish of Llantillio Crosenny, co. Monmouth.

[12] For him was built the palace "in vico vocatur le Straund"; his favourite Swiss residence, the Castle of Chillon, bears a strong resemblance to Château de Grandson; they were built or restored about the same period.

[13] *Patent Roll*, 45 Henry III.

[14] *Ibid.* In 1292 a Royal Council was held "in domo Otonis de Grandison extra palacium domini Regis apud Westmonisterium." *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, I, 435.

[15] Quoted by Kingsford from Havet, *Cours Royale*, XXXVII, 225. Twelve years would hardly be counted as "long" service, and if he was born in 1240, twenty-five would hardly be considered "early age" of a man of 37, while 18 might have been so designated. The King was born in 1239.

[16] *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Ed. I, I, p. 493.

OTHON DE SIRE DE GRANDISON

SIR OTHO DE GRANDISSON

(On Antependium.)

SIR OTHO DE GRANDISSON

(On Tomb.)

for safety this brand was extinguished and built into a wall. The youth went beyond seas with the King of England, and when his Majesty was struck with a poisoned weapon by an assassin, young Grandson sucked the poison from the wound.[17] This tale is in a measure confirmed by the fact that when, in fear of death, the King made his will that night, Otho de Grandisson was appointed one of his executors.[18]

It may have been in thanksgiving for the King's preservation that Queen Eleanor about this time sent Sir Otho as her deputy to pray at the Holy Sepulchre, as permission might then have been obtained, though possibly, as Professor Lethaby suggests, the pilgrimage was undertaken after her death, to pray for her soul.[19] But the fact that Sir Otho did visit Jerusalem is recorded in a painting upon Queen Eleanor's tomb in the Abbey. This painting represents the Holy Sepulchre with a group of pilgrims at one end and a knight praying before a Virgin and Child at the other ; these latter figures have been much injured, yet enough remains to enable Professor Tristram[20] to prepare a sketch showing its ancient appearance ; he has inserted the details of the Virgin and Child in the existing outline, and has " touched in " details in the kneeling knight, who is undoubtedly Sir Otho de Grandisson as his surcoat shows. This figure is almost a replica of that upon an antependium once in Lausanne Cathedral, but now in the Musée Historique at Berne.[21] The Virgin and Child also appear in this beautiful piece of *opus anglicanum* with the archangels, Gabriel and Michael, ecclesiastically clad, swinging censers, with a background of lilies and scroll-work. In this piece of embroidery the tiny knight in armour wears a coloured surcoat " paley of six argent and azure," with a bend gules across his breast, bearing three escallops or, and the same design is upon the top of his sleeve. His

[17] *Chronicle of St. Bertin.*

[18] *Patent Roll*, 18th January, 1291.

[19] It could not have been undertaken at the time Sir Otho went to Acre, as the siege began almost immediately after his arrival. After the siege he remained in Cyprus three years, in 1295 he was at Grandson, in 1296 he returned to England and for ten years was employed upon diplomatic missions, so there seems no convenient time for his visit to the Holy Sepulchre except immediately after the attempted assassination of the King.

[20] Professor Tristram has most kindly allowed me to have his reconstruction reproduced.

[21] Professor Lethaby pointed out to me the resemblance between the two figures.

arms on shields, properly displayed and tinctured, are worked at each end. The chief difference between these two portraits of Sir Otho is in the position of the sword—on the tomb it is on the knight's left side, on the antependium upon the right, an error doubtless due to the ignorance of military matters of the nuns who worked the embroidery. Sir Otho was entitled to use the escallops in place of the Imperial eaglets, as he was more than once in the Holy Land. On the King's behalf he went to Acre in 1291 and took part in its defence against the Saracens; with John de Grailly he defended the south ward and joined the Templars in the few successful sorties made; he took their part in the quarrels which were the chief cause of the fall of Acre. He escaped to Cyprus in the last boat-load, and, in the following January, his friends obtained licence to send one of his yeomen with horse, clothes, and other requisites to relieve his poverty;[22] ten years later the Pope ordered the payment of 3000 marks in compensation for his expenses on the Crusades and his losses at the sack of Acre.[23]

The high favour enjoyed at Court gave Sir Otho many opportunities to assist his kinsfolk, of which he was not slow to take advantage. On the death of Edward I, in 1307, he retired to Château de Grandson, where he lived to an advanced age, until at last, "weary of life through the burden of increasing years, he ordered the brand to be taken from the wall and cast into the fire. Hardly was the brand consumed ere the good Knight expired."[24] He died on 5th April, 1328; in his will he desired to be buried in Lausanne Cathedral, his bier to be preceded by two men bearing his arms, each holding a banner emblazoned with the Grandisson arms, mounted upon horses worth 100 *livres* each, one equipped with a housing of the said arms, the other caparisoned in iron, both horses to be given to the said church, to which he also left funds for an obit. His effigy still remains in the Cathedral.[25]

Otho's younger brother, William, father of our bishop, came to England in attendance upon Edmund of Lancaster (Crouchback), brother of the King, at what date is uncertain; from that prince he received estates in Glouces-

[22] *Patent Rolls*, Edw. I, ii, 465.

[23] *Calendar Papal Registers*, i, 599.

[24] John of Ypres.

[25] Tradition declares that this commemorates one whose hands were cut off, but the mutilation was not of the man but of the effigy. See *Othon 1er, Sire de Grandson*, Aug. Burnand, p. 32.

tershire in 1281. Before 1287 he married, as his second wife, Sibilla, daughter of John, Lord Tregoz, co-heiress of her father's estates with her sister, Clarice, wife of Roger de la Warre. Upon his estate at Asperton, now Ashperton, about ten miles from Hereford, Grandisson resided ; in 1292 he had licence to strengthen his house with a wall of stone and lime and to crenellate it. This residence, Castle Grandisson, stood in a park, containing remarkable timber, upon a mound surrounded by a deep moat ; the drawbridge across this has been replaced by a causeway approached by steep paths down either bank. In 1335, on Grandisson's death, the *extent* of the manor states that there was a capital messuage, worth nothing beyond the sustentation of the buildings, a garden with curtilage worth 12d. ; one carucate of land worth 30s. and no more because a third part of it lies fallow and is held in common ; a dovecote worth 18d., a watermill worth only 13s. 8d. because of the repairs required, and a small park worth nothing beyond the sustentation of the deer ; the rents from free tenants and serfs amounted to a very small sum. It was held with the adjoining manor of Stretton [Grandisson] for half a knight's fee, as of the Castle of Monmouth.[26]

The only relic of the ancient building is an oval stone carved with the arms of Edward I, once, doubtless, surmounting an entrance archway, but now fastened against the wall of the neighbouring church. Tradition says that Sibilla de Grandisson, in her husband's absence on a crusade, obtained licence to build the church at Ashperton, because she and her household were prevented from attending their parish church at Stretton by the frequent floods. The above-quoted Inquisition confirms this in a measure, for in the year in which William de Grandisson died the greater part of forty acres of meadow at Stretton were " carried away by the torrent " ; the present owner of the estate, Mrs. Hopton, says she remembers her grandfather repeating the above tradition to her when, as a child, she was with him driving along the half-submerged roads.[27]

The Bishop's mother, Sibilla, was granddaughter of

[26] *Inq. p. m.*, C. Edw. III, 43 (4).

[27] Sir William also had a mansion at Oxenhall, near Tewkesbury, co Gloucester, at which Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph says the Bishop visited him in 1328.

Juliana, daughter of William de Cantilupe, and great-niece of St. Thomas of Hereford. Juliana wrote an account of their ancestry, tracing their descent from Sir Hugh de Gournay, who married Blanche of Castile, widow of Louis VIII (the Lion). At a "Parliament" at Rouen there were present King Henry of England, the King of Navarre, the King of Portugal, and the Count of Toulouse, father-in-law of the French King, when news reached Louis IX that the body of Sir Hugh was being brought in a litter drawn by two horses for burial in the Cathedral, whereupon "King Lewis swore by the Sword of St. James that no beast should ever draw through the city of Rouen so noble a warrior as Sir Hugh de Gournay. And then he and the aforesaid kings and the greatest lords of Parliament, going down into the mud, which came half-way up their legs, drew the body of the said Hugh through the city of Rouen in the winter and buried it."[28] It is obvious that Juliana possessed "pride of birth," a characteristic she may have transmitted to our bishop.

Another sister of St. Thomas of Hereford was Agnes, whose granddaughter, Agnes St. John, married Hugh de Courtenay, 1st Earl of Devon; hence Bishop Grandisson addressed her and her son as "cousin." Juliana de Cantilupe married Robert de Tregoz, and their son, John, married Mabillia, daughter of Fulk Fitzwarine. John, Lord Tregoz, died 21st August, 1300, and his estates were divided between John de la Warre, son of his daughter Clarice, and Sibilla de Grandisson.[29] The devout strain inherited from the de Cantilupes by Sibilla is indicated by a Papal Indult granted in 1306 "to the wife of William de Grandisson, permitting her for five years to visit three times a year the Cistercian monasteries of Dore and Flexley, in the diocese of Hereford, founded by her ancestors [Robert de Ewias and Roger, Earl of Hereford, respectively], accompanied by six women, and there to cause divine service to be celebrated for the souls of the elder sons of her husband and all the faithful departed."[30]

[28] A. T. Bannister, *History of Ewias Harold*, p. 106.

[29] *Inq. p. m.*, 28 Edw. I, 43 (2).

[30] *Papal Letters*, LII, f. 50. William de Grandisson is said to have had two sons by his first wife, and these have been identified with Theobald, Canon of Wells, 1299, and Otho, Canon of York, 1301, and Bishop of Toul, 1308. These were nephews of Sir Otho, but there is no evidence that they were sons of William; as they were both alive in 1309 they would hardly have been coupled with the faithful departed in 1306—perhaps they were sons of Otho's brother Peter.

Photo F. C. Morgan.

LEDBURY.

Photo. F. C. Morgan

STRETTON GRANDISSON CHURCH.

BISHOP GRANDISSON.—*To face page* 9.

By Sibilla, William de Grandisson had five sons and four daughters. Peter, the eldest, died without issue in 1358, whereupon the Bishop became the head of the family and heir to the estates ; Thomas and William became ecclesiastics, the former died in his youth at the Papal Court in 1317, the latter became Archdeacon of Exeter and died in 1330. Otho, the youngest, knighted in 1327, died in 1359 ; he married Beatrix, daughter and co-heir of Sir Nicholas Malmayns ; she died in 1374 ; on the death of their only surviving child, Thomas, in 1376, the male line died out. The daughters were : Mabillia, who married John Patteshull of Bletsoe, and became the ancestress of Margaret Beauchamp, wife first of Oliver St. John, of whom the St. Johns of Bletsoe, and second of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, by whom she had the famous Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII.[31]

Agnes married Sir John de Northwode, had issue, and died 4th December, 1348.[32]

Matilda became a nun and eventually Prioress of Aconbury, Herefordshire.

Their youngest daughter, Katherine, married William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and was the ancestress of Warwick, the King-maker, and of Margaret de la Pole, the Countess of Salisbury, beheaded by Henry VIII.[33]

William de Grandisson, father of the Bishop, saw much active military service in Gascony and the Scottish wars ; it is said that he accompanied Edmund Crouchback on a Crusade in 1271. In the famous poem on the Siege of Carlaverock he is mentioned as bearing " paly of argent and azure with a bend rouge bearing thereon three beautiful little eagles in fine gold." From 1299 to 1325 he was summoned as a Baron to Parliament. He was one of the executors of Edmund of Lancaster, and, clad in much the same costume as his brother on the Queen's tomb, appears in the painting on the tomb of the Prince. Because of his devotion to his first patron he failed to aid the King against Thomas of Lancaster, but

[31] Lady Margaret's pride in her Grandisson ancestry is evident from the entry of the obits of her kinsfolk of that family in the beautiful Book of Hours now in the British Museum [Royal MS., 2, A, XVIII].

[32] Presumably she (or her son) was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey, as a tomb there bore shields of the ancestors of Grandisson and of Northwode.

[33] A very fine copy of Grandisson's *Life of St. Thomas à Becket*, belonging to her son, Cardinal Reginald de la Pole, is in the Bodleian Library. (Bodl. MS., 493.)

the King showed him special favour by restoring his confiscated estates on the ground that he was too infirm to travel to his assistance "without great danger to his body."[34] He died on 27th June, 1335, his wife Sibilla predeceasing him by a few months, dying 22nd October, 1334; both were buried in Dore Abbey.[35]

In 1292—the year in which William de Grandisson crenellated his residence—his second son, John, was born[36] in the parish of Asperton, presumably at Castle Grandisson, and, there is every reason to believe, was baptized in their parish church of Stretton, where at one time they had a chantry chapel.[37]

Doubtless, Grandisson spent his childhood at Asperton, amid scenes which possessed many of the characteristics they still retain: the low-lying, well-watered meadows, scattered villages containing but six or eight half-timbered houses clustered round a spired church; even the market town of Ledbury probably had then, as now, a row of irregularly beautiful houses, lining the approach to the Church, with its detached bell-tower, once the place of worship of a College of Canons, well-fitted then for its purpose, but now, though deprived of its glorious accessories, possessing a grandeur and beauty seldom found in a rural church. It would have had a deep influence upon a child early dedicated to the service of God.[38]

The first notice we have of him is in 1306 when "about fourteen years of age" his father obtained a Papal dispensation to allow him to hold benefices to the value of 300 marks besides a canonry and prebend in Wells and a

[34] *Close Rolls*, Edw. II, iii, 523, 641. His son Peter actively took Lancaster's part, but his lands were restored on payment of a fine.

[35] When strenuous efforts were made at Hereford Cathedral to drive out the Aqua Blanca faction, William de Grandisson testified that Aquablanca, Dean of Hereford, and others, "were not of the power or lordship of France but of the lord of Savoy," so the Sheriff was instructed not to aggrieve them.

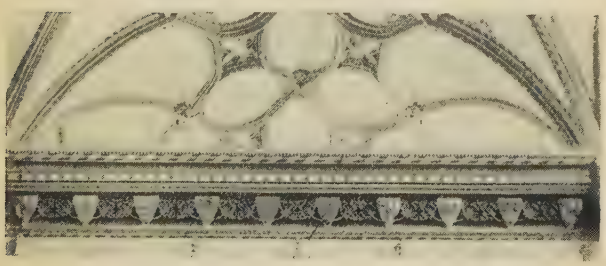
[36] If any inference can be drawn from the Bishop's own reckoning of the year of his age, his birthday fell between October and April.

[37] This chantry was no doubt the building formerly on the north of the chancel which became so ruinous in the middle of the nineteenth century that Mrs. Hopton's grandfather had it pulled down and the tombs were removed to Much Marcle, the residence of the descendants of the Lingens, who obtained much of the Grandisson property in this county. As far as is known, only one of the name, Blanche, wife of Peter de Grandisson, was buried in the chantry.

[38] I am greatly indebted to Canon Bannister for showing me the birthplace of the Bishop and the interesting country in the vicinity, as well as for much assistance in my researches.

SIR WILLIAM DE TRACY AND KNIGHTS.

MURDER OF ST. THOMAS À BECKET.



ARMS ON ALTAR CORNICE, OTTERY ST. MARY.

BISHOP GRANDISSON.—*To face page* 10.

prebend with a promise of a canonry at York, notwithstanding defect of orders and of age[39]—presumably he already held the two prebends.

As a youth he went to Paris, where he was a pupil of James Fournier, the famous teacher of Theology, who became Pope Benedict XII. Grandisson, ever an earnest student, was soon familiar with the works of the early Fathers and was well grounded in languages ; among others he studied Hebrew, perhaps while still in Paris, for in 1312 Clement V ordered that Hebrew, Greek, and other Oriental languages should be taught.[40] In the Bodleian Library are two of his Hebrew books, a Hebrew-French vocabulary with Latin glosses and Æsop's Fables,[41] and at Westminster Abbey is his finely written Hebrew Pentateuch.[42] Another manuscript, which may have served as a lesson book, is now in Exeter Chapter Library, misleadingly styled " Grandisson's Note-Book," but in fact a text-book, beautifully written in double columns, containing extracts from the works of Isidore with marginal notes in the Bishop's hand.[43] This habit of scribbling notes in books, considered pernicious nowadays, but of infinite interest in these instances, Grandisson contracted in his youth and retained throughout his life. Many volumes which passed through his hands give evidence of it, and a study of the grades of his interest may be made when his system is understood ; he evolved a series of symbols—a pointing hand with exceptionally long index finger with curving nail and a gauntlet-like cuff with buttons ; a sign somewhat like an old English ℨ, and a combination of semicolons that indicates an ascending scale of interest—one with its tail in the air for *nota*—another added to this at right angles for *nota bene*, and so on, to the *nota optima* which looks like a head-on collision of four semicolons at the cross roads, resulting in something like an asterisk. In the so-called *Flores Historiarum*, now in Lambeth Palace Library,[44] all these may be found with some of his marginal notes on the

[39] *Papal Letters*, Vol. L, f. 50.

[40] A. G. Little, *Franciscan Studies*, p. 216. Wells Cathedral Chapter, with which Grandisson was so early associated, contributed 2½ marks towards the support of a convert teaching Hebrew at Oxford. *Historical MS. Commission*, IXth Rept., p. 208.

[41] Hebrew MS., No. 1466. [42] MS., No. 1.

[43] MS., 3549. Mr. T. Kerslake, who gave the volume to the Library, claimed that it was written throughout by the Bishop, but it is in a recognized scribal hand used for classical manuscripts.

[44] No 1106.

murder of his predecessor Stapeldon and the punishment of the murderers.

A favourite pursuit of Grandisson was the collation and correction of books. An unusually interesting instance is in another Lambeth manuscript, his copy of the Confessions of St. Augustine,[45] with him a favourite author as a list of his books shows. At the bottom of folio 106 he has drawn one of his elaborate index hands pointing to this inscription in his writing :—

"Hucusque Ego J. de Grandissono correxi et non ultra secundum librum Hugonis de Sancto victore ab eo ut dicebatur correctum dum studerem parisius Anno domini 1314 quando templarii combusti sunt proximo anno post concilium viennense."

This gives us the date of his residence in France, and includes a reference to the Templars, the friends of his uncle Otho ; possibly the student watched with emotion the gloomy procession to the stake, or was even present at the burning, of Jacques de Molay,[46] Master of the Templars, burnt in that year.

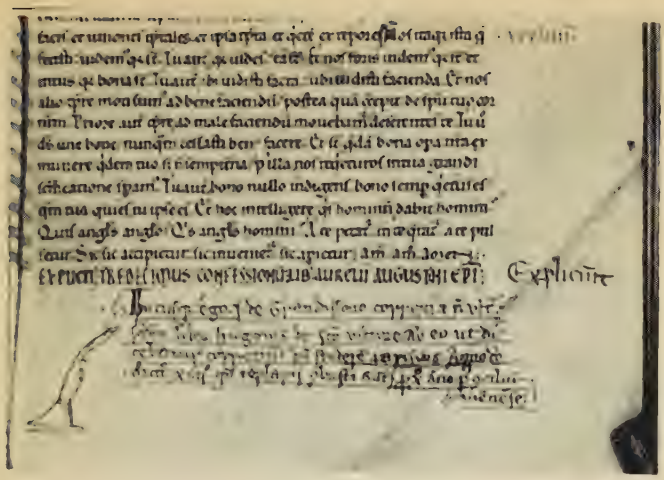
Another instance of his love of correcting manuscripts is found in his copy of Gregory of Tours, now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge,[47] on the fly-leaf of which he wrote "Non fuit bonus gramaticus ut ipsemet testat in prologo libri tercii ; vide ibi exterius signate J. Exon" ; it also contains other comments and pointing hands. Even when he borrowed a book he could not refrain from scribbling in it, if we may apply such an undignified term to his writing, for on 1st July, 1332, he borrowed from the Abbot of Malmesbury a copy of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* and gave it back to the Prior of Pilton the following 1st May ;[48] in this we find his familiar signs, though nothing marks the entries relating to Exeter.

In the British Museum is an exceptionally fine copy of St. Anselm's letters once belonging to him ;[49] here, very usefully, he inserted the names of those to whom the letters were addressed, with a particularly elaborate note on that written to Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, concerning

[45] No. 203.

[46] Some thirty years before, Jacques de Molay, the Master, granted an annuity "in consideration of the great services which the noble and puissant Sir Otho de Grandisson hath done and doth us." See Kingsford, p. 160.

[47] MS. 1475. [48] Trinity College MS., 727. [49] Claudius A., XI.



SIGNATURE AT LAMBETH.

PSALTER.

the bells of St. Nicholas Priory ; with his own hand he carefully wrote an inscription to the effect that he presented this volume on 9th April, 1364, the seventy-third year of his age and the thirty-seventh of his episcopate, to the Archbishop of Canterbury to be preserved by the holder of that office in perpetuity. Simon Islip was then Archbishop, and it would seem that when he died in 1366 it was counted one of his personal possessions and was returned to Grandisson, who added a line saying that three years after he first gave it (i.e. 1367) he renewed the gift to the Archbishops.

A copy of the works of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose[50] contains two interesting inscriptions which may be translated thus : " This book was written by William de Wodechurch, layman, formerly a *conversus* of Robertsbridge ; whosoever shall abstract, sell, or in any way alienate it from this house or shall cut out any part of it, let him be Anathema Maranatha, Amen." Perhaps to avert the curse, at all events repudiating guilt, this inscription follows : " I, John bishop of Exeter, do not know where the aforesaid house is, nor have I stolen this book, but I have acquired it in a legitimate manner."

His taste for collating manuscripts answered a useful purpose in several instances. It is recorded in a volume at Gonville and Caius College that he borrowed the famous " Offa Bible," once preserved at Worcester, which had been made for that Saxon king from a copy of the one written by the blessed Jerome himself, long preserved at St. Paul's outside the Walls at Rome. By this he corrected all the service books in his Cathedral, and commanded that all such books in his diocese should be compared with it and corrected by them, " Et ideo caveat quilibet nisi melior aut pericior theologus sit ne aliquid immutat, ne sub colore corrigendi corrumpat."[51]

Of his original work in preparing the Ordinale for his Cathedral and the two volumes of Legenda he presented to the same, much has been written, but less has been said about another task he accomplished. On his arrival in his diocese he found that the books, as well as other treasures, of his murdered predecessor, Stapeldon, had been stolen, so that no Pontifical existed for his use. He therefore wrote on 23 February, 1328–9, to the Archdeacon of Salisbury asking to have lent to him a " Librum Pontificalem . . . antiquum et veracem " that he might prepare

[50] Bodley MS., 132. [51] No. 328.

one according to the Use of Sarum for his own Church at Exeter.[52] He carried out his purpose, and in his will left to his successors in the See, among other things, "libros meos Episcopales majorem et minorem quos egomet compilavi."[53] Two existing manuscripts have been positively identified with these Pontificals—a magnificent folio in Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge,[54] and an almost equally fine quarto volume in the British Museum.[55] But this identification is questioned because the style of writing and illumination belong to the fifteenth century, though there can be little doubt that the original from which they were copied was compiled by Bishop Grandisson, because of certain peculiarities they both contain. Dr. Frere points out that the Corpus Christi copy "follows principally, though not exclusively, the Sarum ceremonial, but it gives much additional information." Sometimes an alternative ceremony according to the Roman Use is placed beside the other, occasionally headed by an explanation—in the case of the Ordination Service, for instance, where "the Anglican form corresponds with that which is usual in English Pontificals, the Roman form is a new importation." Commenting upon Grandisson's compilation of a Pontifical, after borrowing one from Sarum, he writes : "His long sojourn with the Papal Court had prepared him for the task which he undertook," and he suggests that if this Pontifical represents his work it is not surprising to find in it the same influence of Roman Rites and Customs which is observed in his Ordinale. He remarks that these two manuscripts "throw light on the habits of the bishops and illustrate that Pontificals do not

[52] *Register* (H.-R. ed.), I, 214. [53] *Ibid.*, III, p. 1552. [54] No. 79.
[55] Lansdowne MS., 451. Canon Dalton, *Collegiate Church of Ottery St. Mary*, p. 158, says that the two Pontificals mentioned in the will were left unfinished by Grandisson and "appear to have passed into the possession of Robert Braybrooke, one of his Executors, who became Bishop of London, 1381–1404, in which See Bishop Clifford succeeded him, 1407–1422." Dr. M. R. James, *Catalogue of MSS. C.C.C.C.*, states that MS. 79 was begun for Bishop Mona of St. Davids, whose arms are on f. 127, but completed after his death in 1407. Bishop Clifford's arms are on f. 1 in the part that was added later. This accounts for the MS. being styled "Bishop Clifford's Pontifical," as well as for the profession of a widow being addressed to a Bishop of London. The appearance of the Exeter colours in both MSS. is explained by the habit scribes had of copying literally the text of their exemplar without adapting it to the requirements of the future resting-place of their MS. Mr. E. G. Millar of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, an authority on illuminations, is convinced that the earliest work in Lansdowne 451 is early fifteenth century.

belong to any diocese but represent the personal use of the Bishop to whom they happen to belong."[56] Such being the case these volumes, believing as we do that they show us the result of his literary labours in supplying his Cathedral with a Pontifical, give us a side-light upon his personal opinions as to what was suitable, and of his skill, in that he produced a book highly valued by other bishops.

Other original work he has to his credit. As early as 1317–18, while he was only Archdeacon of Nottingham, Pope John XXII accepted a book for which he thanked Grandisson and declared that in it he found much that was edifying in a compendious form.[57] He also composed a series of Masses of the Blessed Virgin, to be celebrated weekly throughout the year, in memory of the Seven Joys ; this is found in the Ottery St. Mary copy of his Ordinale, and the Lessons appropriate are in a volume at Trinity College, Cambridge.[58] Probably together these formed the contents of the " Legendis et Missis de B. V. Maria ex dono Johannis de Grandissono " entered in an inventory of the treasures of Windsor College.[59]

Another book by our Bishop is the *Life and Miracles of St. Thomas à Becket*,[60] of which he seems to have been very proud ; when asking his old teacher, now Pope Benedict XII, to confirm the establishment of his College of Ottery St. Mary in 1342, he wrote that he sent a little book hoping that " when next you dismiss Martha and are at leisure for the embraces of Mary, you will kindly run through the book. For in it the Blessed Thomas the Martyr is made the subject of contemplation among the solemnities of the Mass and the chanting clerics, whose life newly reduced by me out of many writers, in a compact form, I design for a certain reason to place before your Holiness's eyes,"[61] and when writing, in 1357, to the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, lauding the wonders seen there, he mentions that he is sending a copy of his Life of

[56] W. H. Frere, *Pontificals*, Alcuin Club, I, p. 90.

[57] *Papal Letters*, Vol. L, f. 80d.

[58] B, XI, 16. The heading of this states that these were to be read in Exeter Cathedral " juxta Ordinale Episcopi Johannis de Grandissono." The Ottery MS. (*C.C.C.C.* 93) has " juxta disposicionem patris domini Johannis dei gracia Exon episcopi domini m° ccc° vi° " [*sic*]. They do not occur in the Ordinale at Exeter. The Trinity MS. contains also the lections for St. Thomas of Hereford, so probably was an Exeter manuscript, compiled for our Bishop.

[59] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, p. 1362.

[60] This is entirely independent of the " life " inserted in his " Legenda "

[61] *Register* (H.-R. ed.), p. 117.

St. Thomas, and adds in a postscript " that ignorance and negligence have made the history full of faults, and the Prior is requested ' corrigere corrupta, et supplere defecta, priusquem aliis ostendatur, ut pudorem mittentis tegatis clamide caritatis.' . . . The signature is ' J. inutilis cultor Ecclesie Exoniensis.' "[62]

Two fifteenth-century copies are in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Library,[63] and a particularly interesting one is in the Bodleian Library,[64] which at one time belonged to Cardinal Reginald de la Pole ; his name and the date 1539 are written in it ; he was Dean of Exeter from 1525 to 1535, and may have seen a copy here and obtained this one which was written in England in the first half of the fifteenth century by one who made this entry : " Nomen scriptoris Robertus Plenus Amoris."[65]

Bishop Grandisson's devotion to St. Thomas of Canterbury is further indicated by his insertion of a boss in the nave of Exeter Cathedral upon which was carved the scene of the martyrdom. The composition, considering the confined space, is excellent and dignified. The victim kneels in the foreground, clad in alb and cope, but bareheaded, for his mitre lies on the ground near at hand ; a lantern, with two lighted candles, appears to the saint's left. The four murderers, fully armed, are behind him ; on his left a cleric in surplice and *vimpa*, probably Grim, holds the Archbishop's crozier in his right hand. The attitudes and the expressions on the faces are admirably rendered. Of the murderers, Tracy, a Devonian, after penance, obtained absolution from Bishop Bartholomew [Iscanus], the well-beloved friend of the Martyr, and his is probably the figure on the next boss, westward ; St. Dunstan, like Becket an Archbishop, is upon the eastward one. The smaller bosses at either side contain shields of arms—Northwode and Weston. Otho de Northwode, the Bishop's nephew, was Archdeacon of Exeter in 1329, and William de Weston, Canon at that time, was frequently employed on important business by the Bishop ; this may approximate the time of its insertion, and suggests that these persons contributed to its cost.

[62] *Historical MSS., Report IX*, i, p. 89.
[63] Nos., 464, 467. [64] *Bodleian MS.*, 493.
[65] ? Fullilove. Although Dr. J. Brigstocke Sheppard, in his Report on Canterbury documents, considers it dull and worthless, it appears to have been looked upon as of importance by fifteenth-century writers. See *C.C.C.C. MSS.*, Nos. 275, 298.

Enough has been said to prove Grandisson's deep love of books and to show that a vast number were at one time or another in his possession.[66] His library was not only extensive, but contained an admirable selection of works, for, according to Dr. M. R. James,[67] "we may look upon him as better qualified to judge of a library than almost any man of his time." It is interesting to note the disposition he made of these treasures. To his Cathedral, to Crediton, to Ottery and other religious establishments, he gave collections of books, and to his successors a number of volumes, but he specified ten that were to be given to individuals; the legatees ranged from the Pope down to his great-nephew, Philip de Beauchamp,[68] then a theological student. His best Psalter the Bishop bequeathed to the Lady Isabella, the King's daughter; this finely illuminated volume, now in the British Museum,[69] contains his initials and arms, apparently by his own hand, a note that it was given to her according to his instructions, and other entries relating to his obit, his provision and his consecration as Bishop of Exeter.[70]

His legacy to the Cathedral consisted of twenty-five specified volumes, but he had already given to it generously. Added to an Inventory of 1327 is a list of forty-nine service books, presented by him, as far as can be judged, over and above those named in his will, and notes have been made of many he had rebound or refurbished. At the end of an earlier list of gifts made to the Cathedral by kings, bishops, canons, and others before 1277 is a memorandum, added about a century later: "Of the gifts of John de Grandisson, bishop. All the books of the choir, vestments of every colour, ornaments, vases[71] of gold and silver, and other materials of which the number is not fully written here or elsewhere, because in his lifetime and afterwards they were multiplied beyond number; as God knoweth Who knoweth all things."[72]

[66] Twenty-four containing marks of his possession or his perusal still exist.

[67] *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury & Dover*, p. xlvi.

[68] It is probable that Philip de Beauchamp was a godson of Queen Philippa, as she obtained for, or bestowed upon, him fourteen benefices by the time he was fourteen years old. See Workman, *John Wyclif*, II, p. 112.

[69] *Add. MS.*, 21, 926.

[70] The faces of several of the persons in the illuminations have been scratched out, including that of St. Thomas the Martyr, and his name and that of Pope John XXII have been erased.

[71] In his will Grandisson describes a "vas sive jocale" in detail, so the two names refer to the same article, probably a monstrance.

[72] *Exeter Chapter MS.*, 3671.

One more item about his books, which have occupied our thoughts perhaps too much, shows how he obtained manuscripts sometimes. In a letter written in 1329, he thanks Master Richard de Ratford for a copy of St. Augustine's Sermons, desiring to know the price, and adding that he wished to have sought out more theological books, old and rare, ancient sermons, etc., which were to be sent to him with their prices; meanwhile he was sending sixty shillings, on account, by John de Sovenaish, Master of the Scholars of the City of Exeter.[73]

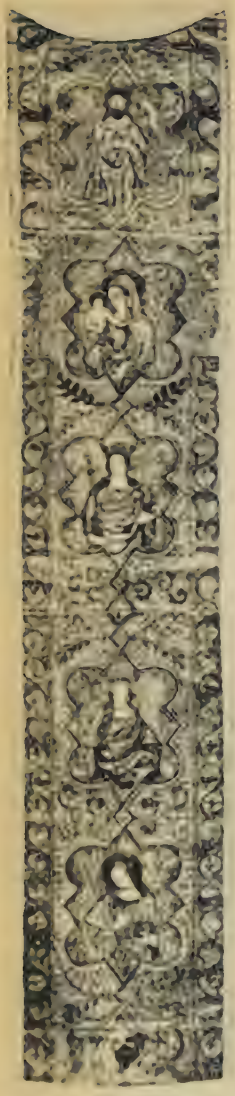
Leaving the subject of books and passing over his interest in education, his rearrangement of the hospitals at Exeter and other such matters which belong more to his official life, attention should be called to other treasures given to the Cathedral or used by himself, a number of which still exist. Among these may be mentioned a vestment, a fragment of which still remains—a mutilated "pillar" of *opus anglicanum* now mounted upon a modern chasuble of inferior material.[74] Upon it may be distinguished the following designs: At the top the royal arms as borne by Edward III, France ancient and England quarterly; below these a three-quarter figure of a female saint; then the arms of Grandisson with the three eaglets displayed, without the mitre; below these another female saint; and then the upper part of the Grandisson arms, not sufficient to show whether it has the mitre for difference. The lower saint is undoubtedly St. Katherine, but there are two candidates for the other; one expert calls her St. Mary Magdalen, in which case the article she bears on her arm is an ornate box of precious ointment; another declares it is St. Barbara bearing her tower. The latter would be more appropriate as suggesting the Bishop's share in building the Cathedral.[75]

It is possible that this vestment is described in the 1506 Inventory of the ornaments, etc., of Exeter Cathedral, compiled, that is, one hundred and thirty-nine years after the Bishop's death, as "1 casula de panno aureo rubeo

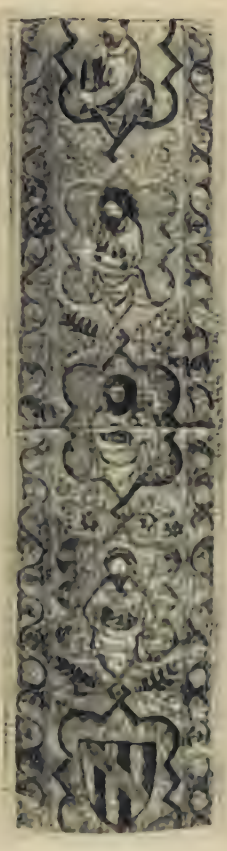
[73] *Register* (H.-R. ed.), p. 240. Sovenaish had been Rector of Stapeldon Hall, afterwards styled Exeter College; when Grandisson re-established St. John's School, Exeter, he invited Sovenaish to take the head-mastership—a strange proceeding to relinquish the rectorship at Oxford to become head-master in a provincial city.

[74] At present it is in a church at Ponta del Gada in the Azores, to which resting-place it appears to have wandered through the instrumentality of an American millionaire.

[75] The Chasuble is described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, 16, p. 252, and in *Devon Notes and Queries*, V, 39.



FROM MARQUIS OF BUTE'S CHASUBLE.



FROM CHASUBLE IN THE AZORES.

cum armis Regis et Johannis de Grandissono in le orfrey," with which perhaps belonged " 1 capa de panno aureo glaucii, cum armis Regis et Johannis de Grandissono in capite," and a towel given in the 1327 Inventory but not in the later one, " 1 tuella bona cum nigris literis in capite et purpurea de armis Anglie et patris ejusdem Episcopi."[76]

Another portion of a vestment is in the possession of the Marquis of Bute. In this case the orphreys are embroidered in gold and coloured silks upon linen, with figures in interlaced quatrefoils of red and blue, on a diapered gold ground. On the front are: St. Andrew with cross and book; St. John the Baptist with Agnus Dei on a book; St. John the Evangelist with pen, ink-horn and eagle; St. Paul with sword and book. In the lowest quatrefoil, on a shield, are the Bishop's arms. On the back are: St. Osyth or St. Mary of Egypt with three loaves (?); St. Margaret with cross and book; St. Catherine with wheel and sword; the Virgin and Child, the former holding a flower, the latter a bird; Christ with the banner of the Resurrection. At the bottom is a fragment of a figure reversed. Between the quatrefoils are foliated sprays, and a narrow vine-leaf border is on each side.[77]

This list of Grandisson's gifts rejoices the heart of the student and makes him weep for their loss. As late as 1506 one hundred items remained; notable among them were two great silver-gilt images of SS. Peter and Paul, standing on three lions; a great silver-gilt processional Cross on four lions, with a large enamelled pedestal supported by two angels and above a Crucifix, with SS. Mary and John, containing a glass in the middle for holding Our Lord's Body;[78] another Cross with the four Evangelists and four shields of arms, of the Bishop and of others, with an enamelled Crucifix, images of the Virgin, SS. Peter and Paul decorated with seventy-eight precious stones and nine pearls and containing part of the True Cross " for placing

[76] See Oliver, *Bishops*, pp. 318 and 338.

[77] *Catalogue of the Burlington Arts Club Exhibition*, 1905. I am indebted to the Rev. J. Kestell Floyer, F.S.A., for calling my attention to this. In the same volume is an illustration of a stole embroidered with thirty-six coats of arms, evidently of the ancestors of Roger, 2d Baron Beauchamp of Bletsoe, grandson of Mabilia de Grandisson and John de Patteshull, among them Grandisson, Fitzwarren, Cantilupe and Gournay.

[78] This is among his bequests to the Cathedral: lego. . . Crucem deauratam cum lapidibus preciosis ex utraque parte, que in duas partes dividitur, et intus pars Crucis Dominice continetur—no doubt a monstrance.

in the Sepulchre": an "ampulla" with figures of the Pope, the King, and the Bishop, also an almost endless list of vestments, ornamented with the arms of the King, the Bishop, and his sisters. The Cope, vulgarly called "of St. Peter," with Our Lord's passion and the passions of saints in needlework with leopards, cinquefoils, and figures ornamented with real pearls, and having the arms of the Bishop, and "3 feusillis rubeis et 2 leopardora leopardis" (Montacute and ? Patteshull); his silver-gilt pastoral staff with the Coronation of the Virgin, and his arms and figures, but, most interesting of all, the Chasuble in which the Bishop was consecrated, of white cloth-of-gold with white birds, having heads and feet of gold, and a border of needlework containing divers figures in circles. The earlier list, supplemental to the inventory of 1327, mentions the complete suite, "capa, casula, tunica et dalmatica."[79]

Out of these hundred articles, fifty-eight are said to have the arms of Bishop Grandisson—in one instance repeated sixteen times. Here perhaps we have an outcrop of his respect for his ancestors, inherited from Juliana de Cantilupe.

While bestowing such rich gifts to glorify the interior of the Cathedral, he was not unmindful of the edifice itself. Others have written at length on that subject, so we will confine ourselves to a reference to one remarkable architectural feature, about which there has been some dispute, the famous "Minstrel Gallery." The theory that it was an afterthought of the builder, erected when the Black Prince visited Exeter after landing at Plymouth with his royal prisoner, King John of France, has long since been exploded, simply because King John was landed at Sandwich, but after all there may be some sort of a kind of a basis for the tradition associating it with a visit of the Black Prince to Exeter. In the year 1346 the Black Prince collected a contingent of Welsh spearmen and bowmen, as well as some archers from Cheshire, and, though not recorded, he may have brought some tinners from his

[79] Many other items are worthy of note: a silver-gilt "tabula volubilis" with Crucifix, twelve Apostles and other images, may be his reredos with the Martyrdom of the Apostles, mentioned in his will, where we find also the processional Cross above described, and the pastoral staff he bought in Paris. He notes also a "vase sive jocali cum Angelis portantibus pro Eucharistia precii CC Florenorum," and a precious mitre which he bought of the executors of Walter de Stapeldon for 200 marcs sterling, and which he had repaired and improved at Paris at a cost of 120 marks.

MINSTREL GALLERY, EXETER CATHEDRAL.

BISHOP GRANDISSON.— *To face page* 20

PLATE VIII.

Duchy of Cornwall to act as sappers and miners; these soldiers he took to join his father at Portsmouth whence the army set out on the expedition to France; the most important battle then fought was that of Crécy. His route obviously led him into our county, perhaps to our City, as will appear from a letter written in old French, of which the following is a translation :—

Endorsed: To the Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester.

Most honoured and most beloved lord. I received your letters on the morrow of St. Gregory, whereby you command me that I should send you a chariot well and sufficiently furnished with six horses, drivers and harness appertaining to the said horses, to assist you in your transport in these parts and certainly, most beloved lord, as your people who know this country are well aware, there are but few chariots nor such horses in this country, for all the transporting that we do here we do on pack-horses or bullock-carts because of the mountains and valleys and bad ways which are here. And nevertheless, sire, one single chariot that I have, such as it is, if your people think it will be useful to you, will be ready at your commands. And may it please you to know, most beloved lord, if you please, that I can vaunt myself that there is no other bishop in England and France so bad on horseback as I am, for these three years since I came from the Court of Rome I have not ridden twenty leagues around Exeter nor mounted any horse since Michaelmas until now, forasmuch as I do not greatly love to have horses, or grooms, or dogs, or falcons, but, sire, of chaplains, clerks and books have I sufficient for my estate, which together with other things that I have will be always at your pleasure, as you will know when I shall shortly come to your lordship, whom God by his grace long maintain in health and honour as I pray each day and always will pray.

Written at Chudleigh[80] the fourteenth day of March [1346] by your Chaplain J. of Exeter.[81]

[80] Of the Bishop's "Palace," a quarter of a mile to the south of the town of Chudleigh, only a few fragments remain, the present vicar, Rev. George Hall Mallett, informs me—a piece of a wall and something like a chimney. In 1852 there were some steps, three arched rooms, part of the wall of St. Michael's Chapel, and a length of boundary wall "with arched loop-holes of highly finished masonry." (M. Jones, *History of Chudleigh*, pp. 59, 60.) The manor was sold at the time of the Reformation and its "massive arches and marble pillars" carried away.

[81] *Ancient Correspondence*, LIV, No. 67. In the *Ministers' Accounts of the City of Exeter* for 1347–1348 is a charge for the carriage of a cask of wine in the city for the son of the King going to Spain, and also Thomas Spicer's expenses riding to Parliament to have speech of the Lord Prince. These entries probably refer to the Black Prince, the only other King's

This is evidently a characteristic letter, showing a very human Bishop, with his correct courtier-like language of "voillez savoir tres cher sire, sil vous plest" addressed to the lad of sixteen, still with a merry twinkle in his eye when referring to his lamentable horsemanship and his debilitated chariot.

We gather that it was his intention to advance from Chudleigh to meet the Prince and escort him to Exeter, a theory which may find support in the fact that in the itinerary, which Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph carefully compiled, there is a gap between 25th March and 6th April, 1346, during which his time may have been so fully occupied in entertaining royalty that he transacted no matters of business. If this surmise is correct, possibly after all his Highness visited the Cathedral and a fanfare of trumpets may have been sounded from the Minstrel Gallery, whereon the Merry Angels are carved.

Bishop Grandisson only visited the Papal Court twice during his Episcopate, first in 1331 when the Black Prince was a babe, and again between 25th May and 12th September, 1343; so the date of the letter, three years after, must be 1346. In the following year the Black Prince was in France.

It is remarkable that Grandisson undertook such vast building operations immediately after his arrival, for his purse was depleted because the Roman Curia claimed that besides payment for their "provision," Bishops Bytton and Berkeley had undertaken great obligations, in all 11,800 florins, which Grandisson must pay before he obtained his bishopric. Appeals to the Pope, in writing and at a private interview, when he accused the Cardinal Treasurer of harsh dealing and of violating his own conscience, together with the assertion that he had proofs that his predecessors had not been provided, obtained a slight

son was nine years old at this time; great secrecy was maintained concerning the movements of the army and it may have been given out that Spain was its destination. The above letter is dated 14th March, so expenses incurred then would have fallen into accounts rendered in 1347–1348.

The Black Prince in his will mentions a gift received from Grandisson, "nous donnons et devions al autier de nostre Dame en la Chappele susdite [the Lady Chapel at Canterbury] nostre blank vestiment tout entier, diappree dune vine dazure, et auxi le frontel que levesque dexcetre nous donne, qe est de lassumpcion de nostre Dame, en mylier severer dor et dautre ymageria, et un tabernacle de lassumpcion de nostre Dame, qe le dit evesque nous donna auxi." See *Grandisson's Register* (H.-R. ed.), p. 1551 note.

reduction,[82] but so much remained that he appealed to the clergy and nobles to help in discharging this diocesan debt. He received an unpalatable answer from his " dear Cousin " Courtenay, who not only refused on the score of his own recently incurred expenses, but advised the Bishop to live economically, to render to rich and poor alike their dues, not to make himself too conspicuous, to listen to all but not to give credence to every idle tale, nor pronounce judgment without taking counsel of others. The Bishop in his reply expressed the opinion that no one should judge their Spiritual Masters and Fathers ; he admitted he might be conspicuous by being " singular," as was the Virgin, but he preferred that to being double-minded ; he knew how to deal with his people ; he might be young in years, but he had already been to the school of clerks and prelates, and did not propose to go to school again, even to a knight.[83] In fact, he gave his dear cousin a sound verbal thrashing.

Nor was this the only occasion on which he was up against this kinsman. The day he was enthroned he encountered at the Cathedral door an official of the Archbishop demanding further money, while Lord Courtenay demanded as of right his palfrey, all vessels of silver used and all wine remaining from the enthronization feast. Passionately Grandisson declared that rather than render these he would walk to the Cathedral and use vessels of wood or glass.[84]

From the Cathedral it is but a step to its miniature at Ottery St. Mary. Grandisson passed through this parish along the Roman street when, after spending his first night within his diocese (9th June, 1328), at Honiton, he made his way to Bishop's Clyst,[85] at which episcopal

[82] For once the Pope displayed a generosity not in keeping with his reputation, possibly not at his own cost but at that of the Curia, for Louis of Bavaria wrote once of him, " Thine uncontrollable power we firmly believe, thine arrogance we cannot endure, thy boundless avarice we are not able to satisfy. The Devil be with you, for God is with us."

[83] *Register* (H.-R. ed.), Introduction, p. xv.

[84] *Register* (H.-R. ed.), p. xii. Courtenay's claim was well founded, as his ancestor had agreed with Bishop Bronescombe in 1308 that the bishops on their enthronement should be met by a Courtenay outside the East Gate, when the nobleman, dismounting from his palfrey, should, to the best of his power, protect the Bishop from the press until he reached the Cathedral choir. At the great feast following he should set the first course before the Bishop, and of the vessels then used he should have four silver dishes, two salt-cellars, the cup from which the Bishop drank, a wine pitcher, a spoon and the two basins the Bishop used for washing, all of which should be of silver. Brantyngham's *Register* (H.-R. ed.), p. 901.

[85] Now Bishop's Court, the residence of Colonel and Mrs. Garratt.

manor he was received in state by the Cathedral body, but it is probable that he did not see the Church, which was then standing in a commanding position upon the hill, until he visited Fluxton, an episcopal manor, in Ottery St. Mary. It attracted his admiration to such an extent that within five years after he came to Devonshire he was negotiating with the Archbishop of Rouen for the purchase of the manor and advowson which had been given to the Dean and Chapter of St. Mary the Virgin by Edward the Confessor in 1061. To an eager purchaser an extravagant price was quoted, but they were dealing with a man who knew not only the value of money and at that moment was short of cash, but who always counted on getting his full money's worth. Higgling began ; the Bishop pointed out the difficulty in obtaining a suitable priest to come all that way ; that they were frequently forced to farm out the manor ; that even when payments due had been collected they might never reach Rouen because pirates infested the Channel ; moreover, they were aliens, and already Ottery had been confiscated for that reason. At last a bargain was struck and the Bishop bought the lot.

One of his first acts was characteristic—he released all the tenants of the Manor from servile dues—some call it "freeing the serfs," and undoubtedly there were serfs here occupying the five-acre tenancies which, under the new lords, were let for money payments. The document granting these privileges the tenants styled their "Magna Carta," and they produced it in the King's Court when the Warden and Canons oppressed them.[86]

Soon after he obtained possession Grandisson began to enlarge the Church edifice and to remodel it to resemble the Cathedral in plan and appearance. He erected a Chapter House, Library, and Cloisters, as well as residences for the Canons and their assistants and other necessary buildings, but with the exception of the houses of the Warden, Chanter, and the Eight Vicars, and the hall of the Manor House no trace of these remain. It is difficult to conceive the beauty of the interior just after the

[86] The earliest Manor Court Roll now belonging to the Lord of the Manor begins in 1378, not long after Grandisson's death, and runs down to the Armada year, at first quite complete, from three weeks to three weeks. There are one hundred and thirty-two membranes, for the most part covered on both sides with contracted Latin.

OTTERY ST. MARY CHURCH.

Photo : W. D. Badcock.

TOMB OF LADY BEATRIX.

Bishop had lavished care and treasure upon it ;[87] in its present comparative bareness two tombs challenge attention, memorials of his younger brother, Sir Otho, and of Beatrix Malmayns, his wife. The effigies now rest beneath elaborate ogee canopies, but not for a moment is it credible that they occupied that position in the Bishop's day. To make them fit under these canopies, which are of a totally different stone, the effigies have been sadly mutilated, and it is inconceivable that in the Bishop's lifetime—for Sir Otho predeceased him by ten years—such damaged tombs would have been permitted to remain. He would have bluffly ordered their removal and replacement by something more worthy. That they might place Sir Otho's in its present position, the lion at his feet, except for its paws and tail, has been ruthlessly chopped away, even the knight's toes have been chipped off ; a groove was made between his feet, and part of his tilting helm and the tip of his sword shorn away. Lady Beatrix has not been so badly treated, a slice has been cut out between her knees and ankles then neatly joined up, and the ground beneath her feet cut away and the faithful dogs moved up.[88] It is most likely that these effigies were once on altar tombs, perhaps in front of the Day Altar which stood at the south side of the entrance to the choir, where they would have been seen by the parishioners to whom Sir Otho was a benefactor. If so placed, there would be a simple explanation for Sir Otho's head being inclined to the left,[89] that his eyes might rest upon the Great Rood and upon the basin serge beyond it, for the perpetual maintenance of which Sir Otho had given funds. Even in their mutilated condition the effigies are beautiful ; the armour and robe

[87] By his will he left to his successors a cup, now at Ottery, weighing one hundred shillings, engraved with his arms and figures, " que inscripta est in pede quod habeant memoriam de Seint Mary Otery," and also that the monstrance used in the Cathedral on Corpus Christi Day should be given to Ottery when they received his own monstrance, exquisitely wrought, having supporting angels, worth two hundred florins. See Will, *Register* (H.-R. ed.), p. 1552–5.

[88] Among the carvings on the canopy over Lady Beatrix have recently been found a tiny basilisk (?), and a tiny dragon, carved on two of the crockets ; all the others contain conventional ornaments.

[89] Canon Dalton suggests that his head was turned so that he might gaze upon an image or painting upon the former wall of the north aisle before which a lamp hung by chains, running through holes still existing. A careful examination of the holes in the roof in this aisle does not disclose any situated correctly for that purpose.

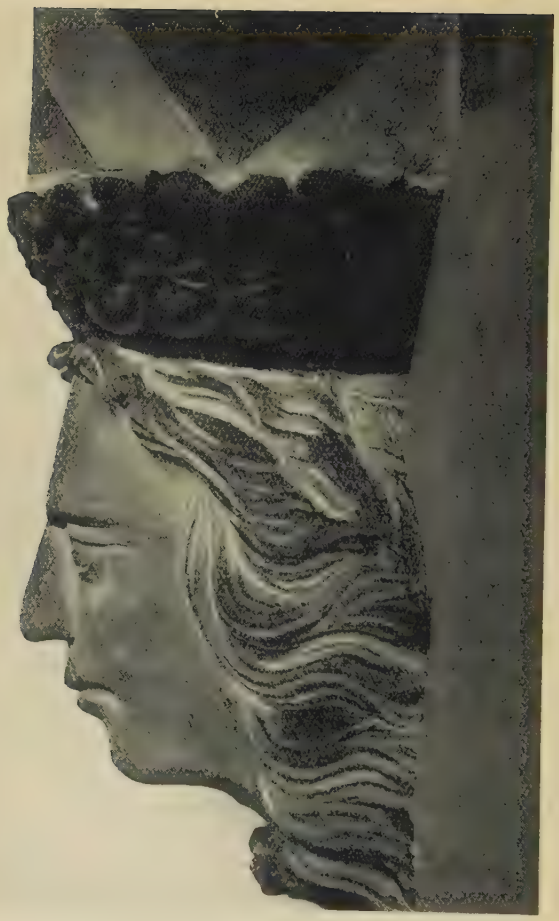
deserve careful examination. Sir Otho has his sword drawn and tucked beneath his arm in a curious and dangerous position; his baudrick and misericorde are highly ornamented; his head rests on a tilting helmet surmounted by a horn ornamented with rings, which Canon Dalton suggests jingled as he rode, by way of a play upon his name, Grande Sono; his bascinet permits his features to be seen, and his long curled moustache falls outside even to his breast. Some traces of colour remain, turquoise-blue and lake, on his baudrick and elsewhere.

The figure of Lady Beatrix is clad in a long garment over which is a cloak—the traces of colour suggest gold tissue—reaching nearly to her feet; its cord she holds upon her breast; her head-dress is of the type worn by Queen Philippa on her tomb in the Abbey, and the lady's head is supported by two angels and does not rest upon a cushion.[90]

Of other of the Bishop's gifts to the Church few remain; the marvellous clock, a few misereres carved with the Grandisson arms, or with a female head, and a remarkable lectern, formerly on the *pulpitum* but now in the Lady Chapel; this is in the shape of a bird, intended for an eagle, of carved oak gilded, which stands upon an orb, in which its claws are firmly embedded; the Bishop's arms, properly tinctured, are on each side of this orb.[91] But a treasure of a later date, once belonging to the Collegiate Church, is in existence, preserved elsewhere but worthy of notice; it is a copy of Grandisson's *Ordinale*, written for William Sylke, Canon both of Exeter and Ottery, by his brother, and bequeathed by the Canon in his will, 1508, to the Church in perpetuity; but at the Dissolution it was disposed of as part of Protector Somerset's possessions, and passed into the hands of Walter Babington of Fluxton, whose estate adjoined the episcopal manor; by him it appears to have been sold to Nicholas Wotton, treasurer of Exeter Cathedral, and from him passed into the hands of Archbishop Parker. It now rests in that incomparable collection of manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cam-

[90] When this monument was placed in its present position it blocked the ancient entrance, which was partly filled up and a window, differing from that next to it, inserted. The doorway and porch were placed further westward.

[91] The clock is fully described by Canon Dalton. It was recently restored and is running upon its original works.



KATHERINE, COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

bridge—its adventures are thus traced from the time it was written to the present day.[92]

On the cornice of the screen behind the high altar are shields of arms, presumably of those who contributed towards the expense of remodelling the Church—except for the central pair, all kinsmen of the Bishop. They represent the arms of Grandisson, with three buckles (Sir Otho, brother of the Bishop) ; Northwode ; Mortimer ; Tregoz ; France ancient ;[93] England ; Grandisson, with mitre (the Bishop) ; Montacute ; Courtenay ; Grandisson, with three eagles (Sir Peter).

The Montacute arms appear in the Church almost as frequently as those of Grandisson, so it may be reasonably assumed that Katherine, the Bishop's sister, was the most generous donor at the time the alterations of the Church were in progress ; moreover, an altar was dedicated to her name-saint,[94] and her own head is carved on the north side of the altar in the Lady Chapel—the position usually assigned to the chief benefactor. She is here represented with flowing hair confined by a coronet of strawberry leaves ; the head is well carved, though apparently a poor attempt to portray the greatest beauty of her day ; still, it compares favourably with other work of this period. She is said to have been the lady who dropped her garter—afterwards used as the emblem of the " Most Noble Order." Another legend is told by John le Bel : She defended Wark Castle while her husband was a prisoner in France, and although, as Froissart says of her, " by the regarde of such a lady, and by her swete comforting, a man ought to be worthy two men at need," it became necessary to summon the King to her aid ; on his approach the Scots fled. She received him with grave courtesy and dignity, and led him to a magnificent banquet. Afterwards, that he might feast his eyes on her beauty, he challenged her to a game of chess ; his gaze was so ardent that, all abashed, she would have failed to win had he not played badly.[95] The Chronicler relates the amorous King's attempts, at a

[92] The only other copy of the *Ordinale* is that in the Cathedral Library.

[93] Isabel, mother of Edward III, daughter of Philip IV of France, died in 1357.

[94] The lower portion of the statue of St. Katherine is all that remains of the many statues once adorning the interior of the Church, only her feet resting upon her winged wheel, the latter gilded and outlined in black ; they have the characteristic long toes of the Hereford School. *See below.* It is now in the possession of Lord Coleridge.

[95] *Chronicle of John le Bel*, p. 285.

later date, upon her virtue, the gossips at Court whispering his success, so if the incident of the dropped garter be true, the motto used may have been a reproof to the scandal-mongerers.

On the south wall is the Bishop's head surmounted by a jewelled mitre—perhaps the one he bought for two hundred marks from Bishop Stapeldon's executors and had repaired in Paris at the cost of one hundred and twenty marks. The face bears a pleasing expression, and a resemblance has been traced to the Courtenay cast of countenance—characteristics inherited by both from their Cantilupe ancestors. Although some deny that portraiture was attempted by mediæval stone carvers, it is possible that when a workman was instructed to portray a bishop he chose as a model one familiar to him. In keeping with the symbolism of the day, having in mind the fate of all, Grandisson placed opposite the corbel of the richly clad bishop a "memento mori."[96] It has a gruesome effect at first glance, possibly even a comic air, but it should be noted that, unlike the grotesques on the bosses in Exeter Cathedral, this is a serious death mask with poppies issuing from each aperture—a fitting contrast to its opposite number.

Reference has been already made to the Hereford School of Carving. Professor Prior, after very careful study of mediæval effigies and the records concerning them, reached the conclusion that from that Cathedral city came a style of carving which found its way into other districts. The characteristics he attributes to this school, as found in the Minstrel Gallery of Exeter, show "the high domed forehead and the draperies clinging about the upper part of the body and sweeping around the limbs and feet with sharp transverse folds and apron effects," with a certain disproportion between the heads and bodies.[97] When visiting Hereford I was told that Canon Capes had mentioned that there had been a Gild of Carvers in Buelle Street, Hereford, which produced fine work still seen in that Cathedral and the long series of bishops' tombs of local stone, obviously all made at the same time but somewhat before Grandisson's day, point to a local mason's yard in which carvers would have been trained. Some of these appear to have been employed in building Exeter

[96] As far as I can gather this is unique.

[97] Prior and Gardner, *Mediæval Figure Sculpture*, pp. 350–2.

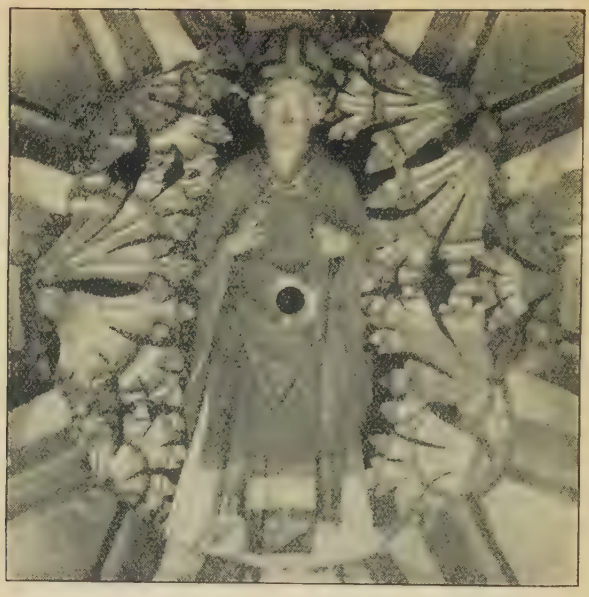
Photo: W. D. Badcock.

MEMENTO MORI.

Photo: W. D. Badcock.

CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN.

BISHOP GRANDISSON.—*To face page* 28.



BISHOP GRANDISSON. *Photo: W. D. Badcock.*

ST. JOHN. *Photo: W. D. Badcock.*

BISHOP GRANDISSON.—*To face page 29.*

Cathedral; the Fabric Rolls of 1299 show that the Wardens of the Work were : "Dominus Robertus de Asperton et Magister Rogerus cementarius," the former obviously from Bishop Grandisson's birthplace, while an important workman was "Willelmus de Hereford";[98] these may have taught local masons, or Grandisson may have imported others from Hereford, hence it is not surprising to find carving possessing Hereford characteristics, especially in the fine bosses in Ottery St. Mary Church. An excellent example there, showing good work and grace of design, is the Coronation of the Virgin[99] with apron-like drapery having an almost transparent effect, the fingers and toes long and the heads out of proportion. All these peculiarities are found in the ivories described below in connection with which Mr. O. M. Dalton calls attention to the long heads, the high brows, and "in certain figures little traits of careful realism, such as the rendering of the crows' feet at the corners of the eyes,"[100] and suggests that these and kindred features may help to decide whether they were produced in that part of England with which the Bishop and his family were so long connected.

On the boss in the actual (measured) centre of Ottery St. Mary Church is the Bishop himself at full length, mutilated, unfortunately, in order that a lamp might be suspended before the Great Rood. He is represented in full pontificals—the amice and alb are "apparelled," the chasuble plain with a corded border, with the point reaching nearly to the knees ; no orphrey, a plain, fringed stole beneath the dalmatic, an embroidered maniple, the episcopal ring and a glove, probably jewelled originally—all, as the ecclesiologist will say, is correct. His right hand is raised in benediction, and a cross, not a pastoral staff, may once have been in his other hand.

St. John the Baptist appears to have been commonly represented as somewhat deformed, but in a boss we have an exceptionally stunted figure with hands and feet more than usually out of proportion. In design, figure, and emblem, as well as in general style, this carving should be compared with others of the Forerunner made for our Bishop.

[98] Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops*, p. 392.

[99] This was the Bishop's favourite subject ; it occurs very frequently, e.g. on the seal of the College and upon his pastoral staff.

[100] *Burlington Mag.*, XLIX, p. 78.

It is curious that the same saints and the same groups so often occur, whatever the material, upon the articles he possessed, for not only did he collect books, but many artistic articles, and though these were intended for some utilitarian or ornamental purpose, there is a suspicion aroused by his commission for any kind of book that he was a " virtuoso " in the modern sense. He was certainly a true lover of art, not only for the adornment of the House of God, but for his own æsthetic pleasure, and his eye for comeliness and seemliness is evident from the precise arrangements he made for the services, both in the Cathedral and in the Church of St. Mary of Ottery, for both of which places he provided so many beautiful vessels of precious metals, jewelled ornaments, and service books richly decorated within and without ; moreover, there is ground for assuming that his palace and his country residences bore traces of his love of art and his refined tastes.

It may have been for the beautiful Chapel of St. Faith in the Palace that he had carved an interesting ivory triptych of delicate workmanship, now in the British Museum, which shows in perfection the grace and charm, as well as the defects, attributed to the Hereford School ; the disproportion in the figures jumps to the eye, but the graceful folds of the garments, the delicate carving of the exceptionally long hands and feet, and the transparent effect of the draperies, indicate great skill in carving. The subjects chosen are : The Coronation of the Virgin with the patron saints of the Cathedral on either hand ; the Crucifixion, with a group of figures much overcrowded, supported by panels containing St. Stephen and St. Thomas of Canterbury. The particular significance of St. Stephen is not obvious, but the presence of St. Thomas à Becket is explained by the Bishop's particular devotion which has been already mentioned.

An ivory diptych is also in existence, one half of which is in the Louvre and the other in the British Museum ; this may have been made for the Bishop's sister, Agnes, as on the French half are the arms of Northwode, a cross engrailed gules, while, to judge from what remains on the other half, the shield bore the arms of Grandisson. The subjects of the Louvre panels are the Coronation of the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist ; the latter is engaged in writing at a desk upon which an eagle is perched. The

IVORY TRIPTYCH (1).

IVORY DIPTYCH.

BISHOP GRANDISSON.—*To face page* 31.

design and details of the Coronation of the Virgin are practically the same as on the triptych already described, even the features and the attitudes are alike, with but slight variation in the throne and the draperies. The resemblance in the design to the representations of the same subject on Peter de Grandisson's tomb and on the boss at Ottery St. Mary, is noticeable, while the drapery in the triptych, even to the cross folds of the garment of Christ, is identical. There can be little doubt that the Coronation on these two ivories was the reproduction of one original.

The British Museum half of the diptych contains the Annunciation and St. John the Baptist; the pleased expression on the face of the Virgin is curious; the same model might have stood for the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene on the triptych. In St. John the Baptist we have the same stunted figure and the roundel with the *Agnus Dei* as on the Ottery boss, but here on the ivory St. John is seated, and beside him the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

In the third ivory, recently acquired by the British Museum, while the carving is somewhat similar in style, in the general effect and in the details there is considerable diversity. The Crucifixion in the centre has only St. Mary and St. John; the Apostles are differently treated, carrying their emblems in another fashion, and looking towards the central panel. In the place of St. Stephen is St. John the Baptist, standing, robed somewhat as in the diptych, bearing a lamb instead of the roundel. St. Thomas differs from the other representation of him; he wears neither pallium nor chasuble, his cope is fastened with a morse; his flowing garment and his cope are richly embroidered. He carries his crozier in his right hand, but it is difficult to say what is in his left. He turns his head to the right as if regarding the figures on the central panel, and his mitre is worn at a jaunty angle much as Bishop Grandisson wears his on his seal. The ogee arches above the figures are not floriated, and the spandril decorations are geometrical except above St. Thomas, where the conventional foliage may have some significance.

But the most striking figure of the triptych is the lower central panel which contains a Virgin and Child strongly reminding us of a painting of the Sienese School, so much so as to suggest that an Italian picture was placed before the carver, and he, unaccustomed to work "from the flat,"

made a sad business of it; totally out of proportion to the rest, it completely spoils the picture, but its details repay study; there is something about the carving of the drapery and of the hands suggestive of the surrounding work, but this flatness, without any attempt to indicate roundness, suggests a servile copy of a picture; it is possible that, during one of his visits to the Roman Court, Bishop Grandisson found a painting by an artist of the Sienese School which he brought home, and afterwards ordered a carver to copy it in ivory. Mr. O. M. Dalton describes the interesting method in which the carver carried out his task of imitation. "He did not seek to free himself from local influences. In the other ivories made for the Bishop, perhaps by the same hand, but in any case by a member of the same school, we mark types of head and face, presumably local, of which grace is not the distinguishing attribute. The head of our Lady swooning in the Crucifixion scene upon the other Grandisson triptych is of such a kind; a head without beauty is supported by a neck of unusual thickness. These features are repeated on the present ivory in an exaggerated form; it is very certain that here the carver diverged from the Italian model. But in the treatment of the body, of the hands and arms, and of the drapery, he shows mastery and understanding. The low relief to which he restricts himself is delicately and finely handled; the method is in sharp contrast with that used in the case of the other ivories, where the relief is considerably higher and sometimes creates an effect of heaviness. Whatever the shortcomings in the conception of the two faces, the subject as a whole makes the intended appeal and is admirably expressive in all its lines. The same refined qualities are found in the crucified Christ above, which is superior to that on the other triptych; there the figures are throughout stunted in comparison, a defect not wholly absent here in the case of the mourning St. John beside the Cross, a figure very characteristic of this carver. The arrangement of the Crucifixion here chosen is the old and simple one confined to three figures; on the other ivory, that with a number of figures is preferred; the field is encumbered; the severity and pathos of the present example are lost. Of the single figures upon the leaves it may be said that they again show superiority to those of the undamaged triptych; the proportions are better; though types, they

IVORY TRIPTYCH (2).

BISHOP GRANDISSON.—*To face page* 2.

have more individual life. The St. Thomas may be singled out for especial praise. The austere figure has great dignity, and the face is strongly characterized. A personality is presented, and the thought passes through the mind that the artist may have given the saint an intentional likeness to his patron, whose conventionalized head at an earlier period of life is seen on a corbel at Ottery St. Mary."[101] The Bishop's arms are quite distinct in the right-hand spandrel above this Madonna, but unfortunately, when the triptych was used by a former owner as a bird-scarer, the corresponding spandrel, containing perhaps some other coat of arms, was broken away. The impression conveyed by this triptych is that it was the work of a slightly later period than the others, but most likely by a carver of the same school. Miss Longhurst in dealing with these ivories comments on their resemblance to the type of the Merry Musician Angels, but thinks the figures here are " more stumpy and altogether heavier and less graceful " than those of Exeter Cathedral, characteristics which we have found at Ottery St. Mary, but she considers that these rather heavy, placid figures have a sincere and rather majestic quality, unlike the somewhat " mincing " French types of the period.[102] These ivory carvings differ from any other examples known to have been executed in this country. The size of the slabs used for them is unusually large—the central panels of the triptychs are respectively $9\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and $8\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, while the two wings of the diptych measure $9\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with a sufficient thickness to allow of fairly high relief ; tusks big enough to supply these must have been difficult to obtain. Miss Longhurst mentions that ivory came from Nubia through Syria and Cyprus—the latter mart suggests that the Bishop's uncle, so closely associated therewith, may have brought thence the ivory which his nephew had carved in such an admirable manner.[103]

This style of carving is also found in the canopy over the tomb of the Bishop's brother, Peter de Grandisson, erected in Hereford Cathedral, close to the original site of the shrine of his kinsman, St. Thomas of Hereford. The subjects chosen, with the exception of the last-named saint,

[101] *Burlington Magazine*, XLIX, p. 74.
[102] *English Ivories*, p. 105.
[103] Neither Miss Longhurst nor Professor Prior appears to have associated Bishop Grandisson with Hereford.

are found on one or more of the articles already described; the similarity of workmanship and design have led Professor Prior to class these with other examples of the Hereford School, and he dates them as "*c.* 1350." The draperies in the Coronation of the Virgin resemble those of the "Merry Angels," while the grouping and the attitudes are the same as in the ivories and the boss. These statues were found about 1842, hidden in the masonry that filled the eastern archway of the choir, and were placed here by Dean Merewether,[104] unfortunately, not in their proper order; St. John the Baptist, a standing figure holding the roundel, is probably correctly placed; he and St. John the Evangelist, if we have rightly guessed the mutilated attributes of the figure on the extreme right, should have been next to the Coronation, and the two St. Thomases at the ends.[105] St. Thomas of Canterbury bears his crozier, and St. Thomas of Hereford his pastoral staff. Here again we find Bishop Grandisson's favourite subjects, and we are tempted to conclude that he employed local carvers to make the canopy over his brother's effigy,[106] when, in 1358, he succeeded to the family title and estates, and this would support the theory that the ivories, bosses, and monument were executed by members of the Hereford Guild or their pupils. There can be little doubt that Grandisson was familiar with the good work emanating from his native county, and employed men trained there to execute carvings in stone and ivory in a style now recognized as distinctly English.

Certain characteristics of the Hereford School are also found in the Bishop's seals. A particularly fine specimen is attached to a copy of his "Ordination" of the College of St. Mary at Ottery; when the Ordination was confirmed by the Archbishop and Chapter of Canterbury they "desired to possess a sealed copy,"[107] and a very much

[104] *Monumental Inscriptions, Hereford Cathedral*, F. M. Havergal, p. 79.

[105] In the ancient window in Credenhill Church, illustrated in Canon Capes's *Thomas de Cantilupe's Register*, St. Thomas of Canterbury is on the left as you face the picture, and St. Thomas of Hereford on the right.

[106] Leland mentions Peter's tomb as being close by that of St. Thomas de Cantilupe, and it is said that the Saint's shrine formerly stood in the middle of the Lady Chapel. The effigy wears a cyclas above his armour; the camail of chainwork is attached to the helmet by rings. For description see Rev. C. Bushell, *Archæological Journal*, XXVII, 176.

[107] *Register* (H.-R. ed.), p. 131; the original was kept by the Dean and Chapter of Exeter, a copy in the Treasury of Exeter, another at Ottery, and a fourth by the Bishop of Exeter.

TOMB OF PETER DE GRANDISSON.

Photo: F. C. Morgan.

SEALS: (1) OFFICIAL. (2) SIGNET RING. (3) SEMI-OFFICIAL.

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sealed copy was sent them and preserved there, but is now in the British Museum.[108] The seals, which are of the Bishop, the Cathedral, the Archdeacon of Exeter, and the Archdeacon's official—the latter used by Oliver de Farcy, the last vicar and first warden of Ottery St. Mary, because he had none of his own—are embedded in solid lumps of dirty white wax pressed while soft around them in a boat-shaped mass. On Grandisson's seal the Bishop appears, fully vested, seated on a throne, the arms of which terminate in lions' heads, his right hand raised in benediction, his left holding his pastoral staff. On either side of the figure are the emblems of the patrons of his see, the keys and sword ; beneath, in bold letters, is DE GRANDISSONO ; below that his arms ; the middle charge is indistinct, but when thrown on the screen it was found to be a mitre. On the back of this seal is an impression from the Bishop's signet ring, obviously a fine intaglio, perhaps brought from Italy by Grandisson, the connoisseur, himself. Owing to forgeries of his seals, the Bishop, in 1354, commanded that none should be accounted genuine unless it bore " impressione anuli nostri in dorso."[109]

Another seal, perhaps for use on unofficial documents, letters, etc., has on it the Virgin crowned and standing, holding the Child on her left arm, on her right hand St. Peter holding the keys, and on her left St. Paul holding the sword, each in a canopied niche, two birds (? doves) and a star above. Beneath, the figure of the Bishop, clad in pontificals, kneeling, holding his pastoral staff, his hands joined as if praying, and on either side of the kneeling figure a shield of arms of the said Bishop ; around all is the inscription : " Tu faveas annis patrum prece virgo Johannis."[110] The translation of this inscription puzzled more than one British Museum official, but it was eventually elucidated by one in high position in the Manuscript Department : " Look favourably, O Virgin, upon the life of John at the intercession of the Fathers." The whole design suggests that, with poetic, or sigillistic, licence, he referred to the patron saints of the Cathedral as " Fathers," or else thought that by his devotion to the writings of the early Fathers of the Church he had secured their prayers, but these proving unavailing, he invoked the additional aid of the Virgin. It has been already remarked that the

[108] *Add. MS.*, 15,453. [109] *Register*, p. 1135.
[110] See also *Ibid.*, p. 1350.

Bishop placed his arms upon a vast number of his gifts to Exeter Cathedral, but strange to say a question has been raised as to his continued use of the mitre for difference. Sir A. W. Franks has suggested that after his brother's death in 1358 the Bishop, as head of the family, adopted the three eaglets on the bend,[111] but it is difficult to obtain evidence on the point, chiefly because seals after that date are almost, if not wholly, unknown, and few have the central charge distinct.[112]

Several aspects of the Bishop's character have not been considered, such as his religious fervour with his ardent devotion to the Virgin, a possible lack of superstition, indicated by his annoyance at the ringing of " Graunson," the great bell of the Cathedral, for an unauthenticated miracle, his quick temper, his autocratic demeanour towards those who ventured to show him disrespect, though more often it was offence because of lack of respect to his high office rather than to himself, his energetic attention to business affairs—a particular boon to his diocese—and many kindred characteristics, but it is hoped that enough has been said to give an attractive impression of his personality and to show his tastes both literary and artistic.

It remains but to tell of his former resting-place. In his will he desired that his body, " which is corruptible and hath weighed down my soul," should be buried " without the West Door of the Church of Exeter, as quickly as can possibly be arranged in seemly fashion, without inviting my near kinsfolk, or great nobles, but only my neighbouring bishop or bishops."[113] On entering by the central archway, under the great screen, which masks the West Front, there can be seen in the southern wall a small doorway giving access to a dingy chapel, long used as a rubbish hole, but once worthy of his sepulchre. Some fine carved work still remains, an arch against the wall of the nave similar to that over the western door of the Cathedral, beneath it a much depressed arch with a recess below, perhaps to accommodate an altar, behind which the carved panel, now against the south wall, may have

[111] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd Series, 1.

[112] Oliver, *Bishops*, gives an engraving of a seal with eaglet in centre, but without reference to the document on which it was found. Probably it was indistinct at that point, so the engraver repeated the eaglet ; I have examined a number, but all are imperfect.

[113] *Register* (H.-R. ed.), p. 1511.

Photo: W. Weaver Baker.

CHRIST ON VAULT OF CHANTRY CHAPEL.

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formed a reredos. Here a priest would have celebrated daily for his soul amid all the brilliant accessories for which the College of Ottery St. Mary was responsible—mass books, vestments, phials, altar towels, bread, wine, and lights, with all else required at Mass. Here, after his death on 16th July, 1369, he was buried, with the desired simplicity no doubt, a lead plate being placed upon his body inscribed in Latin, here translated :—

Here lies John de Grandisson,
Miserable bishop of Exeter,
Most miserable servant of the Mother of Mercy,
Whose merciful son has had compassion through her prayers,
That from wretched he might be made blessed
And to other miserable ones hope may be given of weeping for sin.

A plain slab extending from the west to the east of the chapel was placed in the floor, directly beneath the magnificent carving on the vaulting upon which the many altar lights, now for ever dimmed, would have shone, bringing out the details of the " Christ in Majesty," carved where his eyes, he anticipated, would rest on the Day of Resurrection ; but, alas ! his grave was rifled long since and his bones scattered " no man knoweth where."[114]

Prebendary Hingeston-Randolph wrote that he shuddered whenever he passed by " that desecrated spot into the glorious nave, the abiding memorial of his surpassing genius, princely munificence and lifelong piety."[115]

To conclude in the words of the same writer : " Be it observed that, little by little, evidence accumulates to show that our great Bishop, perhaps the greatest that ever sat on the Throne of Leofric, was the most laborious and self-sacrificing of men, a Scholar and Theologian of the first rank, a faithful Shepherd of Souls, wholly devoted to the work of his sacred office."[116]

[114] The date of this desecration has been in question. Hoker, *c.* 1565, says it was " of late," Westcote, in 1631, says " not long since," Izacke, in his original manuscript, does not mention it, but in the printed edition of 1677 inserts a paragraph embodying the statements of his predecessors, including the words " of late." Polwhele (1793) gives a tradition that it was done by Cromwell's myrmidons, but says this was not correct. Prebendary Chanter (1927) quotes from the Chapter Act Book of 1631, that the Chapel was to be cleaned and the tomb beautified, as proving that the desecration did not occur before that date, but it points rather to injury done already which required attention.

[115] *Register* (H.-R. ed.), Introduction, p. lxxviii.

[116] Brantyngham's *Register* (H.-R. ed.), p. 908.

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